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A Brand New Socialist University

- A brief history of Chaoyang Agricultural College

by

Compiling and Writing Group of Brief History
of Chaoyang Agricultural College

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 2, April 20, 1976)

Chaoyang Agricultural College was born in May 1970 -- in the midst of the high tide of struggle-criticism-transformation of the great proletarian cultural revolution. For the past six years it has grown unceasingly with each passing day under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and under the direct leadership of the provincial and district Party committees. It now has six specialities including agriculture, fruit growing, animal husbandry and veterinary science, farm machinery, farm water conservation, and land hydrology. It has more than 2,000 students and 420 teachers and staff members. The administrative headquarters is located in a mountain valley several dozen li away from Chaoyang county town. It sets up seven scientific teaching basic points in the six counties of the whole district. Up to the present, a total of more than 340 students have graduated from three long-term classes; the various kinds of short-term training classes have turned out more than 16,000 backbone elements for learning from Tachai in agriculture. These results are warmly hailed by the poor and lower-middle peasants.

The College has all along taken class struggle as the key link, firmly adhered to the Party's basic line, and resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's great directive "carry out a revolution in education." It has worked against the revisionist line on education that prevailed over 17 years before the great cultural revolution and fought bravely against wind and waves. This brand new socialist university, contributing its share to the effort to build up Tachai-type counties across the nation, has brought up a group of new-type laborers who stick to the socialist road and firmly break away from old traditional concepts. The "from and back to commune" system it practices whereby graduates are to be assigned to the farms is one of the effective measures for restricting bourgeois rights and progressively reducing the differences between physical and mental labor and initiated a precious step in the march toward communism.

The growth of the College has been pervaded with the acute struggle between the two classes and two lines. Its history is a history of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a history of struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education and the revisionist line on education, a history of the growth of socialist new things in the course of struggle, and a song of victory in the history of proletarian education. It forcefully refutes such fallacies as "the

educational revolution has gone to excess," "the quality of education has declined" and "the present is not as good as the past" spread by the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

A New Starting Point

The College was formed by merging that part of the former Shenyang Agricultural College that had been moved to Chaoyang with the Chaoyang Agricultural Science Research Institute, the Chaoyang Water Conservation College, Agricultural School and Agricultural Machinery College. It has developed gradually.

The old Shenyang Agricultural College before the great proletarian cultural revolution was located in Tungling in the suburbs of Shenyang Municipality. Like all former agricultural universities, it was housed in big and tall buildings and separated from its farms by a long distance. This was entirely an evil consequence brought about by the revisionist line on education. Under the domination of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the old Shenyang Agricultural College, far from being led by the working class, was "run by professors," with the bourgeoisie dictating the proletariat. The College was no more than an instrument for the restoration of capitalism. In the guise of "Red agriculturalists," "Red horticulturists" and "senior construction experts," it poisoned the minds of young students in such a way that they seriously divorced themselves from proletarian politics, the three great revolutionary movements and from the workers and peasants. Students trained in this way did not like agriculture, wanted to stay away from agriculture, and were incapable of working in agriculture. Instead, they hankered after big cities. At the time of allocation on graduation, "vie to go to Peking, enter Shanghai, stick to Talien, or retreat to Shenyang" became their life-long ambition. The poor and lower-middle peasants and basic-level cadres commented: These students "are arrogant but not very skilful; they are not useful to organs, yet they are unwilling to go to the basic level." "Such a school had better be closed as soon as possible."

As early as 1958 Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly: "All agricultural universities should be moved to the countryside." But due to the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in the educational circles, Chairman Mao's directive was for a long time not implemented. On various pretexts the old Shenyang Agricultural College stayed put in Tungling and was reluctant to move to the countryside. In view of this serious situation existing in the educational circles, Chairman Mao in his "May 7 Directive" again pointed out sharply: "The period of schooling must be shortened, a revolution must be carried out in education, and the rule of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals must not be allowed to continue." The unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, started and led by Chairman Mao himself, crushed the domination of schools by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on education. Subsequently, on the militant call issued by Chairman Mao "the working class must exercise leadership in everything," workers and PLA Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams entered the Shenyang Agricultural College. The monopoly of education

by bourgeois intellectuals was broken, education was dominated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and essential conditions were created for the complete transformation of the college. From that moment onward, Shenyang Agricultural College, under the strong leadership of the working class, began to undergo a series of radical changes and turned over a new chapter in its history.

In September 1968, the workers and PLA Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams that had entered the college, firmly enforcing Chairman Mao's directive, led the teachers and students to embark on a journey of more than 250 kilometers by foot. They arrived in the rural areas of P'anchin district in southern Liaoning to carry out struggle-criticism-transformation and lay the groundwork for moving the college to the countryside. The masses in the locality organized a party of more than 2,000 persons to welcome them with gongs and drums. In the face of this revolution, the thinking of the intellectuals was very complex and the struggle too was acute. Most of them were willing, under the leadership of the working class, to go to the countryside to accept re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants, and marched in firm and broad strides. However, there were also some who hesitated at the time; some went along grudgingly; and some even openly opposed. When it was decided to build the school in the countryside and discussion was held on the location of the school, some people made up all sorts of excuses for going back to the city. One excuse was that "now that the working class holds the leadership, the problem of location is not a primary one." Another was that Tungling was not a city and was "at most an area bordering a city." Still another was that "Tungling is indeed part of the countryside and the school should not be moved away from it." Later, taking the opportunity of going back to Shenyang to carry out reorganization, some people simply left the school.

Early in 1970, the Provincial Revolutionary Committee formally decided to divide the Shenyang Agricultural College into five parts and distribute them in the countryside. The struggle at this moment was even sharper. It was variously argued that "this is no struggle-criticism-transformation; it is struggle-criticism-dissolution," that "education will be destroyed," and so forth.

The working class, charged with the heavy responsibility of leading the revolution in education, displayed its incomparable firmness and refused to budge an inch on questions of orientation and principle in respect to carrying out Chairman Mao's instructions "revolution must be enforced in education" and "all agricultural universities must be moved to the countryside" and in respect to executing the Provincial Revolutionary Committee's decision to run schools scattered throughout the countryside. But they also correctly saw that the problem for the vast majority of intellectuals was one of understanding. Those who clung to the revisionist line on education and were hostile to the educational revolution were only a tiny minority. Therefore, on the one hand, they repeatedly expressed their resolve to move the agricultural college to the countryside and shattered the illusions of some people; at the same

time they conducted penetrating and meticulous ideological work among the intellectuals, guiding them to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's directives as well as exposing and criticizing the 17 years' revisionist line on education.

If it is said that the decision to go to the P'anchin countryside to engage in struggle-criticism-transformation met with quite considerable resistance, then the decision to move the water conservation speciality in accordance with the directive of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee met with even greater resistance. Chaoyang is a mountainous area located in the western part of Liaoning province. Before the liberation it suffered from drought in nine years out of ten and there were frequent wind and sand-storms. In the old days a folksong said, "The mountains are like monks' heads. No water flows below them. When rain comes, mountain torrents are like wild beasts; when water passes, there is a tract of stones and rocks." After the liberation, though tremendous changes had taken place, the conditions were still relatively harsh. When graduates were allocated jobs in the past, a saying went like this: "There is fear of going to the remote border regions; there is also fear of going to Chaoyang nearby." After the decision of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee to move the water conservation speciality to Chaoyang was made public, some people jumped out and openly questioned the leadership: "Water conservation? Without water, how can you conserve?" Particularly in view of the fact that the school was to be established on a permanent basis, more ideological problems cropped up and these were more complicated.

The struggle was testing everyone. At this moment, Comrade Hsü Ming and other revolutionary cadres that had been baptized by the great proletarian cultural revolution came forward and resolutely asked to take the lead in going to Chaoyang. They said: "It is precisely because Chaoyang is a hardship place that we must go to change it. It is precisely because there is no water there that we must move the water conservation speciality of the agricultural college there to solve the water problem." Group after group of Communist Party members and activists also came forward. Going in for ideological work on their own initiative, they convincingly refuted the various sorts of fallacies. On the basis of penetratingly studying Chairman Mao's thinking on education, the teachers and students wrote a "Pledge to Found the Chaoyang Communist Labor University," expressing the determination of the masses of teachers and students to go forward along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. At this moment, on behalf of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in the whole district, the Chaoyang District Party Committee sent them a warm letter, which said that the district did not have too many intellectuals but too few. The district's three million poor and lower-middle peasants warmly welcomed all intellectuals who were willing to make revolution to Chaoyang -- and the more, the better!

Chairman Mao's teachings and the expectations of the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants inspired the teachers and students of

the water conservation speciality as well as those of other specialities. At an oath-taking meeting, some comrades mounted the rostrum to express their views and asked to go to Chaoyang as "volunteers."

Go to the countryside! This became an irresistible revolutionary tide.

At that time, as the Spring Festival was drawing nearer, the weather was very cold. Yet the teachers and students said proudly: "Beat the cold and go to the countryside to spend the New Year with the poor and lower-middle peasants." They could wait no more, they said. Chairman Mao's directive had not been implemented for more than a decade, and we must make up for the time lost to the capitalist roaders.

In January 1970, led by the workers propaganda team and revolutionary cadres, a fighting contingent determined to carry the educational revolution through to the end set out spectacularly. Bringing their families along, they arrived at the Ssuchiatzu Commune north of Chaoyang county, thus taking a step of decisive significance in establishing a new-type socialist agricultural university. This was a major step taken along Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education, a step on the road to change the formerly irrational geographical distribution of universities and to reduce the differences between the city and the countryside.

Run Schools Scattered Throughout the Countryside

After the agricultural college was moved from the city to the countryside, how was the college to be run and what type of university was to be built? On this question, the comrades of Chaoyang Agricultural College had gone through a process of exploration and practice. This process of exploration was also a process of struggle between two kinds of ideas and two lines on running schools.

After arriving in Chaoyang, the college leadership, acting on Chairman Mao's instruction "Scatter it on all mountains throughout the province" contained in his "Letter to the Kiangsi Communist Labor University," let the teachers and cadres go by separate groups to six basic points to settle down in production teams, where they would receive re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants and strive to serve them and contribute to learning from Tachai in agriculture, apart from carrying out an educational revolution at the front line of class struggle and struggle for production.

Coming to the countryside from the city, the intellectuals were of course faced with some sort of test in view of the harsh living environment and heavy manual labor. But the vast majority of the cadres and teachers were resolved to take the road of integrating with the workers and peasants, and their enthusiasm was very high. On New Year's Eve, some joined the masses in carrying sand and putting soil on the land, repairing and building ditches. When the spring sowing began,

teachers who taught agriculture joined the masses in breeding fine seeds and cultivating experimental plots. Teachers from the department of fruit growing and forestry successively helped the commune members in pruning fruit trees, applying fertilizer, applying insecticide, and planting pine trees. While integrating with the poor and lower-middle peasants, they increased their feelings for the laboring people and promoted the transformation of their own world outlook. Comrade Kung Erh-tao, a professor in his sixties, had been living in a big city in the past. When he moved to the mountain valley with his entire family, he was unaccustomed to the rural life and once had passive thoughts. The recollection of the poor and lower-middle peasants about their past hardships and their discussion of their present happy life, and the revolutionary spirit of the laboring people in fighting heaven and earth and creating farmland out of gullies deeply educated him. His thoughts and feelings continuously changed, he made up his mind to contribute to "learning from Tachai in agriculture." Once, when kaoliang was at the critical flowering and pollination stage, the experimental plot was short of paper used for wrapping up and separating the ears. After he attended a meeting at the school headquarters, he brought back several dozen catties of parchment. Because the road was blocked due to the rain, he waded through the waist-deep Taling River, carrying the load of paper on his back, and covered more than 40 li of mountain paths by foot. He rushed back to the basic point in time for the parchment to be used without delaying farm work. Afterward, the masses invited him to talk about his experience. "I went astray in the past," he said, "and now I must follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and make more contributions to the people in my remaining years!"

The year 1970 was precisely a year when a battle had to be fought to boost farm output in the Chaoyang area. The comrades of Chaoyang Agricultural College were faced with the question of how to carry on teaching in coordination with the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. In line with Chairman Mao's teaching "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor," they adopted a variety of forms for teaching. Of these, the principal ones were as follows:

1. Spare-time university, also known as farming-reading village study classes. This form had the advantages of having a large classroom and giving conveniences to the masses. The commune members worked in the daytime and in the evening came to the class to study politics, culture and scientific farming, and learn to sing songs from model revolutionary theatrical works.

2. Short-term training classes. These classes were held with a view to meeting the demand of rural communes and brigades for training peasant technicians and solving practical problems in production. Specialized classes for agriculturists, barefoot veterinary surgeons, trimming fruit trees, farm water conservation and training teachers were held in succession. The period of study was varied according to needs.

3. Scientific experimental groups. With the production team as the base and high-yield plots and seed plots as the classrooms, scientific experimental activities were unfolded, publicity was given to the agricultural "Eight-Word Charter" and to scientific farming, and knowledge of agricultural science was popularized.

4. Sectional teaching classes. These classes were held for some basic-level cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants who urgently needed to systematically study agricultural scientific techniques but who could not be detached from production for a long time. The students came to the class with problems in production and studied for a period, then they went back to their teams and worked for a period. They then again returned to the school to sum up and improve their techniques and experience.

5. Mobile teaching classes, also known as roving teaching classes. Carrying teaching aids on their backs, teachers toured the communes and brigades and delivered instructions to one's house. While popularizing scientific knowledge, they also joined the masses in summing up experience, drawing up production plans, and so forth.

These forms of teaching were warmly welcomed by the rural cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants. Once, when a mobile teaching class conducted teaching in the fields, a production team leader who was an illiterate could not remember what he was taught. So he followed the teacher in going the rounds and returned to the team when he thought he remembered all he had learned. The masses called the mobile teaching class a "walking university" and wrote four lines to praise it: The teachers and students of the agricultural university are militant; they take the open ground as the classroom. They deliver instructions to one's doorsteps; the university walks.

Driven by the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside, the educational revolution produced a vigorous scene of vitality. These variegated forms of teaching created valuable experience for the complete transformation of the old agricultural university and for founding a brand new socialist agricultural university. However, faced with such new things, some people shook their heads, saying: "How can it look like a university? We'd better simply call it the 'second agricultural bureau'!" Even some comrades who behaved rather positively in ordinary times failed to see the light when they heard that this was a university.

In May 1970, when the District Party Committee decided to merge several agricultural teaching and scientific research units and form a May 7 agricultural science and technology university (predecessor of Chaoyang Agricultural College), some people thought they might now return to the city to run the university in a "regular" way. But when the science and technology university was inaugurated and the District Party Committee made it clear that the university must be run throughout the entire district, those who had dreamed of going back to the city to run the university in a "regular" way were greatly disappointed. In particular,

in the case of some intellectuals who could not stand the test of the harsh environment, it might be possible to ask them to stay in the countryside for a short time to accept "re-education," but it would be too much to expect them to settle down permanently in the Chaoyang mountain valley. What a violent struggle we had to wage! At this moment, some people who had been assigned to other places from Shenyang Agricultural College also came to join these intellectuals in writing reports and demanding that the college be moved back to Tungling. Instantly, a gust of "wind to return to the city" blew at the various basic points from within and without.

To resist this "wind to return to the city," the college revolutionary committee in November 1970 called a meeting at the Liukuan scientific teaching basic point in Ketso county, which was attended by all the Party members and a number of teachers of the college. The purpose of the meeting was to sum up the results of teaching, affirm the gains of running schools scattered throughout the countryside and check the "wind to return to the city." However, in the course of the meeting, when the leaders had to "straighten out their thoughts," some people took the opportunity to ask them: "By whose order do you lead the intellectuals to this road?" Thus, a sharp struggle exploded on questions of principle such as the orientation of teaching and what road intellectuals should take. Differences of opinion within the leading group made the struggle more complicated, and the meeting had to be adjourned.

After the meeting was adjourned, the principal responsible comrades of the college revolutionary committee summoned all the members of the revolutionary committee and members of the workers propaganda team, studied with them afresh Chairman Mao's relevant writings such as "Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," exchanged opinions with them, and launched an active ideological struggle. After a few days of rectification-type study, the leading members basically unified their understanding. At this time, the District Party Committee again directed: "What kind of college should it be? Tachai is the best agricultural university. The agricultural university itself should be a typical model in learning from Tachai." Moreover, it pointed out: How should the agricultural university be run? Instead of confining discussion among intellectuals, we should go among the poor and lower-middle peasants, to the advanced units to take a look and to conduct some investigations. In compliance with the District Party Committee's decision, most comrades returned to the basic points. The responsible comrades of the revolutionary committee led the responsible persons and representatives of teachers at various basic points to embark on a study tour of advanced units including Tachai, Tsinghua University, Honan's Yüeht'an May 7 Agricultural College and the Kiangsi Communist Labor University.

After visiting Tachai -- the best agricultural university, they saw the bright prospects of China's socialist agriculture and felt that an agricultural university had great things to do. At Sanmen Gorge, they

were deeply impressed by a talk by the Water Conservation Department of Tsinghua University about teaching at the first line of harnessing the Yellow River. Many said: "Tsinghua is a science and engineering university. To meet the needs of developing agriculture, it added the speciality of farmland water conservation. We ourselves are of the farmland water conservation speciality, yet we always want to drop the word 'farmland.' This addition and this deletion show the marked difference between two lines!" In Yüeht'an, Honan, they saw that an agricultural college run by a brigade was also able to turn out students who were welcomed by the masses and able to "pass three hard tests" in ideology, labor and technology. The comrades commented: "If a brigade can achieve such successes, can we afford to fail when we put together so many people?" The visits made the comrades very excited and they demanded: "Let us go back quickly and work!"

The Kiangsi Communist Labor University is a new-type university established in accordance with Chairman Mao's idea. Here, the visitors studied the tradition in that Chairman Mao led our Party in administering education and studied the history of the two-line struggle in the Kiangsi Communist Labor University. They found a clearer answer to what kind of college should be established. They said that the peasant movement lecture center and the University of Resistance Against Japan personally founded by Chairman Mao set us the example, and the Kiangsi Communist Labor University showed us how we should inherit our Party's glorious educational tradition. We must carry on the tradition of proletariat-administered education initiated by Chairman Mao, and we should in no way run the college as if it were a bourgeois college.

After the advanced experiences of various localities were reported back to the college, the teachers and students of the entire college were greatly inspired. "Raise high the banner of the University of Resistance Against Japan, take the road of the Communist Labor University, and vow to turn the agricultural university into a communist labor university" -- this became the common militant oath of the teachers and students of the entire college. The comrades wrote the big characters "vow to turn the agricultural university into a communist labor university" on a rock on the Eagle's Mouth Mountain outside the college campus as a way of expressing the unshakable determination of the teachers and students of the entire college to inherit the tradition of proletarian education and to establish a college which would be entirely approved by Chairman Mao.

So, with the various forms of teaching fully developed, the various scientific teaching basic points were filled with visible vigor and vitality. The educational revolution produced gratifying results. In a short span of half a year, 56 short-term training classes were held and more than 6,000 persons were trained. Wang Kuei-pin, a 52-year-old poor peasant of Wanshou Commune in Chienp'ing county was a student of a sectional teaching class at this time. In the spring of 1971, Chaoyang Agricultural College recruited students from Wanshou Commune. When he read the prospectuses, he applied to the brigade for

enrollment. Others laughed at him for being old in age, physically unfit and having a low cultural standard. He replied: "Don't look at these three disadvantages. I've made up my mind to fight a battle to double farm output and win it and change the outlook of my home town. This is my biggest advantage." After he was accepted, he was greatly moved and he would talk to anyone about what he thought of going to university. At meetings, he would eulogize Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education. Criticizing the old educational system, he said: "In the past you read your books, and we grew our own crops. How could students trained in this manner ever think of us poor and lower-middle peasants? If Chairman Mao had not directed that agricultural universities be established in the countryside, how could a man in his fifties like myself go to university? This is really something I dared not even dream of before! When I go to university I must win glory for Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education." In a year of sectional study, he made contributions to learning from Tachai in agriculture and to changing the features of his home town. Together with other commune members in his production team, he cultivated a 44-mow high-yield experimental plot sown to grain, cotton and oil-bearing crops on an interplanting basis. He applied the techniques acquired in school to production, to guiding scientific farming. Last year, the per-mow output of ginned cotton rose from 30-40 catties in the past to 107 catties, while bumper harvests were also reaped of grain and oil-bearing crops. "Old Man Wang has not gone to university in vain," said the commune members in praise of him. Since then, people have affectionately addressed him "Wang the university man." Not long after Wang graduated from the college, he was made a cotton consultant in the commune and a cotton adviser in the county. Later he was elected secretary of the brigade Party branch, becoming a good leader in learning from Tachai in agriculture.

Directly educated and encouraged by the poor and lower-middle peasants, the intellectuals in the course of teaching in a variety of forms also underwent relatively great changes in their mentality. More and more of them began to "realize that it is extremely mean to use science to make a personal fortune and to exploit others, and that it is a very noble task to enable all laboring masses to grasp science." Hence, they were still more conscious of the need to serve the poor and lower-middle peasants and to popularize knowledge of agricultural science. Once, two women teachers went out to teach on a mobile basis. At that time, the mountain was snow-bound, the sky was dark and the mountain paths were slippery and steep. They climbed the hazardous paths step by step and persistently delivered instructions to people's homes. When the students were arguing whether the teachers would come, they pushed the door open, their clothes full of snow flakes. The poor and lower-middle peasants lauded them, saying: "You have really run the university in our homes." Encouragement by the masses made them think of the serious phenomenon of the former Shenyang Agricultural College's isolation from the rest of the world and what it had done to poison the minds of young people. On their way home, the two women teachers told each other from the bottom of their hearts that in this winter snow night, walking on the rugged mountain paths, they saw broader and broader prospects ahead.

The practice of the educational revolution over the past year has made everyone see the direction ahead more clearly as well as the prospects of proletarian education. Many comrades commented: "Some people attack us for destroying education. What we destroy is only bourgeois education, but proletarian education gains a new life." Indeed, a new-type socialist university in its rudimentary form has already appeared in the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture.

"From and Back to Commune," "Several Ups and Several Downs"

The year 1971 saw the flourishing development of a still larger mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to boost farm output. With a view to meeting the needs of this situation, the Chaoyang District Party Committee decided to hand over the existing scientific teaching basic points to the counties where they were located and to strengthen the May 7 agricultural universities in various counties. The Chaoyang Agricultural College, integrating long-term and short-term studies, set up specialized long-term classes.

How were specialized long-term classes to be run? What was their goal? This was a new subject put before Chaoyang Agricultural College. Having received re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants in the rural areas and acquired experience in various forms of teaching, they clearly perceived that to run specialized long-term classes well, it would be necessary to work against the revisionist line on education of the 17 years and in a way different from old agricultural universities. In the past the revisionist line on education turned the school into an instrument for the restoration of capitalism. The old agricultural university, in the guise of training "Red agriculturists," actually turned out a small number of intellectual aristocrats who lorded it over the masses and despised the workers and peasants. Taking a different course, the comrades of Chaoyang Agricultural College decided to turn the college into an instrument for struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their goal was to serve the hundreds of millions of peasants by bringing up new-type peasants having socialist consciousness and culture. They firmly kept in mind and seriously enforced Chairman Mao's instruction "It is necessary to select students from among workers and peasants with practical experience and to send them back to production after a few years of schooling." They resolutely carried out the "from and back to commune" system. Under this system, students were recruited from the rural people's communes and sent back after graduation to work on the farms and earn their work points just like the others.

"From and back to commune" is definitely not simply a matter concerning the enrollment and allocation systems. It is a major reform in school education. It represents the most thorough break from the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius that "one who excels in learning becomes an official" over the past thousands of years, and indeed from the reactionary educational tradition. The goal has been changed from training intellectual aristocrats as produced in the old schools to

training leaders who strike deep root in the countryside, are determined to work in agriculture, take the socialist road and learn from Tachai in agriculture. To achieve this goal, a school must do a lot of work in changing the thinking of students, put ideo-political educadtion in a position higher than all other tasks of the school, and do it from beginning to end.

When the work of recruiting students began, the cadres and teachers of Chaoyang Agricultural College by separate groups went to the first line in the countryside. There, they propagated among the masses Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education and the goal of Chaoyang Agricultural College in recruiting students from the communes and sending them back on graduation to become peasants. The principal criterion for recruitment of new students was a determination to dedicate oneself to agriculture and turning one's home town into another Tachai. At the beginning, some comrades were still worried whether they could succeed in recruiting students for such a university. However, when they distributed the "Prospectuses of Student Enrollment" to the masses, the response from commune and brigade cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants was immediate and warm. They said: "When students return to their communes on graduation and become peasants again, we have nothing to worry about." When applications were accepted, young people vied with each other sending in their applications, and the organizations at various levels also seriously selected and recommended candidates for enrollment. Some communes sent in five or six applications at a time. In the case of those brigades which failed to have their applications accepted, the cadres would take the applicants to the comrades in charge of recruitment or even send them directly to the college. When the college was unable to accommodate so many students, they proposed on their own initiative: "If the school cannot provide us with lodging, we can sleep at home; if it cannot provide us with food, we can bring our food along; if the classroom is too small for all of us, we can sit outside the windows." The action of the poor and lower-middle peasants effectively relieved the anxiety that "who would come to such a school"?

When the school's staff members in charge of student enrollment were sent to the countryside, they not only extensively propagated Chairman Mao's thinking on the educational revolution and the "from and back to the commune" system, but they also deeply impressed the need on the mind of every young person who applied to devote oneself to agriculture. They went to the applicants' houses and studied with them and their parents Chairman Mao's instructions, criticized with them the idea of "going to school in order to become an official," and helped them set up the idea of going to university for the sake of the revolution. After applicants were selected and accepted, with the county as the unit, study classes for new students were organized to study Chairman Mao's relevant directives, to discuss the bright prospects of the socialist new countryside and such problems as "why should I go to university?" In this way, the new students would have a correct motive for going to school and a clear aim of study.

The first lesson students took on first arriving in the school was to attend "a meeting for new students to pledge they will go back to the commune where they come from." Under the school's guidance, they read out Chairman Mao's "July 30 Directive," "May 7 Directive" and "July 21 Directive." They heard a talk on the educational tradition of our Party from the peasant movement lecture center to the University of Resistance Against Japan and on the history of the Kiangsi Communist Labor University which grew and expanded in struggle. At the same time, veteran teachers concerned were invited to speak and to expose and criticize, on the basis of personal experience, the crimes of the revisionist educational line in corrupting and poisoning the minds of young people. At the meeting, the responsible members of the college Party committee also distributed to each new student a set of Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works, and a work tool, and encouraged them to acquire skills for the revolution and to return home to become new peasants after graduation.

Subsequently in all its teaching work Chaoyang Agricultural College persistently put a correct political orientation in the first place with class struggle as a primary subject. First of all, they take Marxism-Leninism as a required subject, asking students to complete within the three years of study in school the reading of several Marxist-Leninist works and Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung from Volume I to Volume IV and to take an active part in the struggle to criticize revisionism in the light of prevailing conditions. Besides, more than a month is set aside each year for organizing students to go to the countryside to conduct social investigations and directly participate in the struggle between the two classes and two roads in the countryside. This enables students not only to understand the importance of adhering to the Party's basic line but also to recognize that advanced science and technology alone cannot save China and that "only socialism can save China." Thus they will increase their ability to resist the corrosion by the bourgeois "vocational affairs in command" and "intellectual education first." What is even more important, practical struggle will turn them into genuine proletarian revolutionary fighters who will criticize capitalism and build socialism in a big way, and be brave in making a firm break with old traditions.

How is it possible to tie every link of teaching to the "from and back to commune" goal and to effectively guarantee that students will happily return to their communes and brigades after graduation? The comrades of Chaoyang Agricultural College, who are brave in practice, seriously explore experience and dare to struggle and smash the rules of old schools, have beaten out a new path!

Toward the end of 1970 and early 1971, they successively held two different types of teaching classes. One was a long-term experimental class lasting a year and eight months. The other was a sectional teaching class lasting one year. Students of the long-term experimental class were mainly concentrated at one scientific teaching basic point, where they were to "study" and "work." When students of this class graduated, the following situation appeared: some students, thinking they had graduated from

an agricultural university, waited for job assignments from the county, being reluctant to become peasants in their brigades. The sectional teaching class allowed the students to gather in the school to study for a period and then return to their brigades to practice for a period; after a period of practice, they again returned to the school to study for a period. When the students finished their course, they all happily went back to their communes and brigades. This situation aroused the serious attention of the school leadership. After careful analysis and study, they found that the reason why students of the sectional class were able to return to their communes and brigades happily on finishing their course was that they maintained close ties with their communes and brigades while studying in the school. The primary reason for the reluctance of students of the experimental class to go back was that they lost contact with their communes and brigades during their study.

On the basis of summing up the above experience, they decided to adopt the "several ups and several downs" teaching system for the specialized long-term class. "Up" meant they went to the school to study; "down" meant they returned to their communes and brigades to take part in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimental activities. The arrangements made were generally as follows: in the first year they studied in the school; in the second and third years they went back to their brigades to take up practice for certain periods. According to different specialized studies and classes, flexible arrangements were made with regard to the contents, time and frequency of the "downs." Each "down" was closely coordinated with the class struggle situation at the given time and with the farm seasons. Even during their period of study in school, they did away with the practice of studying behind closed doors and of engrossing themselves in reading. Instead, they adopted the part-work and part-study system, worked diligently and studied thriftily, and combined classroom study with practice in the teaching base. In this way, during the several "downs" they already acquired definite practical experience and were capable of independently solving some actual problems in the three great revolutionary movements in the rural areas.

The "several ups and several downs" teaching system directly links study with application. This completely eliminates the phenomenon of the old university where "the blackboard is used to teach growing crops and books are used to learn how to reap bumper harvest" in isolation from reality. Whereas students trained in the old university were incapable of working in the fields, students now have truly mastered the scientific techniques of tilling the land and the techniques of learning from Tachai and building socialism in a big way. What is more important still, whereas the old university corrupted the students with the revisionist ideas of personal fame and wealth with the result that students "are indigenous in the first year, become foreign in the second, cannot recognize their parents in the third and are reluctant to go home in the fourth," the "several ups and several downs" itself assures that students will go home at regular intervals and be able to weather the storms in the three great revolutionary struggles and accept re-education

from the poor and lower-middle peasants. They study with the aim of changing the features of their home towns and bring back home scientific and technological achievements and put them to practice. During the period of study they are already able to make contributions to learning from Tachai in agriculture. Such students already acquire the thought of "going back to the commune" and make the technical preparations during their study in the school. This insures that they will not only be willing to go back but can go back to play a useful role after graduation. So, the students say: "Coming from and returning to the commune is the direction, and several ups and several downs is the bridge."

Every new thing grows in struggle against old things. "From and back to commune" and "several ups and several downs" are new things emerging from the educational revolution. They turned the centuries-old traditions upside down from the goal of training to the teaching system. That is why the moment they appeared they were stubbornly resisted by the bourgeoisie and the force of old habit. No sooner had the goal of "from and back to commune" in training university graduates to become peasants been announced than some people found fault with it and said: "You can't find from the Tzu-hai dictionary anything like a university which trains peasants!" The leading comrades of Chaoyang Agricultural College countered such an attack by asking: Can it be that we communists should do only those things that can be found in Tzu-hai? In the old Tzu-hai there was no such term as "Communist Party." Does this mean that our Communist Party should not exist and should not lead the people to make revolution?

The "several ups and several downs" teaching system breaks the so-called "normal" order of the old university. When it was put into practice, it was immediately condemned by some as "disruptive." In 1972, a gust of evil wind of opposing "ultra-Left" was stirred up in society. In the name of criticizing "ultra-Left," a counter-attack in revenge was launched against the great proletarian cultural revolution. When this gust of wind swept over the school, some people inside it appeared to have found a basis for attacking "from and back to commune" and "several ups and several downs" as "products of the ultra-Left line." They said that students trained by "several ups and several downs" had "a low level" and "no quality," and that such training "wasted talent and ruined the children of people." Some even put on the heads of the principal responsible comrades of the college the hat of "swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i," and demanded that the Party committee make "a self-examination."

Faced with this gust of evil wind, the Party committee saw that this was a struggle bearing on whether or not it was possible to consolidate and develop the fruits of the educational revolution and involving the vital question of whether or not Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on education could be enforced. This wind, the Party committee concluded, had to be firmly resisted. When the chips were down, they spent several days and nights studying word by word Chairman Mao's related directives and examined their work over the past years in this context.

The result was to make them see still more clearly that the educational revolution in Chaoyang Agricultural College had barely begun, that instead of going to excesses, it still had a long way to go before meeting the demands contained in Chairman Mao's directives and raised by the poor and lower-middle peasants, and that continued efforts had to be made to fight the revisionist educational line of 17 years and fight it to the end! Under the leadership of the college Party committee, the teachers and students of the entire college unfolded mass criticism and rebuffed all sorts of absurd arguments. They replied resoundingly: Don't you say we have disrupted something? Yes, we do. We have disrupted that conservative order, the order of the revisionist educational line. The proletariat must not only disrupt but also totally smash and clear that kind of order. There is no construction without destruction. Without destroying the old educational order of the feudal landlord and bourgeois classes, it is impossible to establish the new proletarian order.

As for such questions as level and quality, the teachers and students said that in a class society there was no common view of level and quality. In the eyes of the proletariat, students have a high quality and a high level when they are able to persist in taking the socialist road, have socialist consciousness, understand the Party's basic line, are able to directly serve socialist agriculture and serve learning from Tachai in agriculture and lead the way in the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside! Such quality and level are beyond the reach of past graduates of old agricultural universities.

Facts are louder than words. The achievements made by the students of Chaoyang Agricultural College during the "several ups and several downs" over the past years ruthlessly refuted those fallacies about low level and lack of quality.

Yang Chen-pao, a student of the department of fruit growing, during his "several downs" in 1973 firmly adhered to the Party's basic line and firmly grasped class struggle. Under the leadership of the Party branch, he organized the masses to criticize and struggle against a bad element who attempted to sabotage the forests of the brigade. This boosted the morale of the poor and lower-middle peasants and deflated the arrogance of the class enemy. First, he opened a new phase with his brigade as the foothold and led the brigade's fruit specialized group to do a serious job of pruning the fruit trees and to unfold activities for scientific tree management. As a result, the brigade's annual yield of apples rose sharply from its previous record of 270 catties to 5,700 catties. Due to climatic and other characteristics in the Chaoyang area, the apples had second-stage flowers and in some years this seriously affected output. In order to solve this problem, an artificial pollination experiment was carried out in an effort to raise the fruit formation rate. With his own money he went to other areas to procure pollen. After a meticulous joint study with the teachers and students of the research group, he finally solved the problems caused by the low fruit formation rate and the shedding of a large quantity of fruit after fruit formation, and wrote a paper on pollination of the

second-stage flowers of the apple. After this paper was read out at a provincial science symposium, it received serious universal attention. His research achievements added new content to the fruit tree cultivation techniques in the Chaoyang area and have now been incorporated into new teaching materials as a special chapter of Fruit Tree Cultivation. Su Ching-hua, a student of the veterinary department, attached the first importance to grasping revolution and the revolutionization of man's thinking during her "several downs" periods. She set up an evening political class in the brigade and organized the masses to read Chairman Mao's works, study the experience of Tachai and Hsiaochinchuang, criticize the capitalist spontaneous forces, criticize the old traditional concepts and break down old customs. In the course of offering veterinary services on a mobile basis in the countryside, she persisted in taking the socialist road and waged a resolute struggle against private veterinary surgeons in the countryside, besides helping the rural veterinary station to change its style of work and improve its service attitude. In three years, doing her best to serve the poor and lower-middle peasants, she cured more than 200 sick hogs, delivered 150 hogs, emasculated six large domestic animals , cured more than 120 large sick animals, and held two training classes for veterinary surgeons when more than 100 persons were trained. Once, at a cost of 4-5 yuan she cured a big mule of hernia of the abdominal wall after it had failed to be cured at the cost of 500-600 yuan. The poor and lower-middle peasants praised her as "a good veterinary surgeon of poor and lower-middle peasants." These results even won the admiration of some graduates of old agricultural universities. And instances like the above are too numerous to be mentioned.

Still, when students began to be recruited for specialized long-term classes, some people asked skeptically: "Will they really go back after graduation?" For many years a small number of people had adopted the "wait and see" attitude. Let us then show them the facts.

In the spring of 1974, the first group of 19 graduates returned to the communes where they came from. They pledged: "We entered the agricultural university with a red heart. Our hearts become even redder after we graduate. We will strike deep root in the countryside to make revolution. We vow to become a generation of new peasants." Filled with revolutionary pride, they triumphantly returned to their communes and brigades. By concrete actions they criticized such decadent ideas as "one who excels in learning becomes an official" and "go to school in order to become an official" spread by Lin Piao and Confucius. They truly practiced the great principle of the Paris Commune that "we must struggle, not in words but in deeds, against the idea of seeking high office and making a personal fortune."

This first group of graduates was warmly welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants when they returned home to become peasants. Cadres and representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants in the communes and brigades where they belonged came to the school to greet them. These graduates did not let the school down for three years of education, nor did they fail the expectations of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

The moment they returned home, they joined the poor and lower-middle peasants in avidly reading Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, and plunging into class struggle and the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. Before long they were able to make remarkable achievements and win the commendation of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Chang Yüeh-ch'en, one of the graduates, broke the encirclement by traditional forces after he returned to Nants'un brigade, Nankungyingtzu Commune in Ketso county. Ignoring the attempt of some people to ridicule him, he made up his mind to work in agriculture and devote himself to the collective. With the support of the masses, he was elected a committee member of the brigade Party branch and a vice chairman of the brigade revolutionary committee. He led the poor and lower-middle peasants to criticize and struggle against a rich peasant who spread rumors and to strike at the sabotage activities of the class enemy. He helped the masses overcome conservative ideas and practice scientific farming. As a result, the brigade's grain output rose by more than 400,000 catties that year, and for the first time paddy rice was grown experimentally with success on the barren river beaches. He has truly become a leader in learning from Tachai.

Wang Wen-yu, a student from Heich'engtzu Commune, Peip'iao county, was already called in his period of study in the school "a commune technician who has not yet left the school." After he returned home upon graduation, he adhered to the Party's basic line, and fearful of neither attack nor ridicule, he, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, joined the masses in resolutely criticizing the evil capitalist wind of "four fixing and one reward" (fixing manpower, fixing land, fixing remuneration, fixing output, and rewarding excess output). In September that year, after he formally took up his duties as the commune's agrotechnician, he helped a production team overcome the erroneous tendency to distribute and eat all without keeping anything in reserve. "To build a new socialist countryside, we must have university graduates like Wang Wen-yu," said the poor and lower-middle peasants in his praise.

Student Ch'en Wen-chung scored distinguished results in his practice during his "several downs" periods in his brigade in 1973. When he graduated, a county department wanted to retain him. He declined and said: "The poor and lower-middle peasants sent me to university. I can't let them down. I must go back." When he returned home after graduation, he became the brigade's agrotechnician and head of the scientific experimental station. With his encouragement, the eleven production teams in the brigade all set up experimental groups and formed a relatively strong scientific research network. He led the masses to practice scientific farming and promote the development of production. The year 1974 suffered from pests on three occasions and two typhoons. Yet the brigade still increased its grain output by 300,000 catties, with per-unit-area yield amounting to 820 catties to surpass the target set for areas south of the Yangtze.

The above three examples suffice to show how graduates of Chaoyang Agricultural College have fought energetically at the first line of the three major revolutionary movements in the countryside, using their actions to write a new chapter of the educational revolution.

"More Oriented Downward, Greater Revolutionization"

In its battle against the bourgeoisie and the force of old habit, Chaoyang Agricultural College has criticized the old world and built a new one and continued to make new attempts to establish a complete, new system for proletarian education. In 1973, besides keeping to the policy of "from and back to the commune" and "several ups and several downs," it also made new achievements in respect to developing and improving the new system integrating teaching, scientific research and production.

Early in 1970, in accordance with the Chaoyang District Party Committee's directive "schools should be expanded and more oriented downward and should be improved in quality and increasingly revolutionized," they set up six scientific teaching basic points in communes and brigades which were models in learning from Tachai in the Chaoyang area. In 1972, these six points were turned over to the counties and merged with the county May 7 agricultural universities. Beginning with 1973, they again successively established seven scientific teaching basic points in various counties. At the same time, attention was turned to strengthening the ties and cooperation with schools of various levels in the counties and communes to form an area-wide scientific teaching network.

The scientific teaching basic points implemented a new system combining teaching, scientific research and production. They were not only the shock forces in building Tachai-type counties throughout the Chaoyang area and served as scientific research institutes for giving guidance to scientific experiments, but at the same time they were also good classrooms for transforming and training the ranks of teachers and changing the students' thinking. The scientific teaching basic point at Yinmach'ih brigade of Hsitayingtzu Commune, Chaoyang county, was established in March 1974. Under the leadership of the brigade Party branch, the 12 teachers and students at the basic point joined the poor and lower-middle peasants in criticizing revisionism and capitalism and practicing socialism in a big way. In the meantime, they also helped the brigade establish a scientific experimental station and set up scientific experimental groups in its production teams so as to launch mass scientific research activities for improving the soil, preventing and controlling plant diseases and pests, growing high-yield crops and testing the use of phosphate fertilizer. They sponsored various kinds of technical training classes and conducted teaching in different forms according to farm seasons. In addition, together with the commune members of the brigade, they created more than 140 mow of farmland by putting soil on it on the barren Taling River beaches and for the first time grew paddy rice with per-mow output amounting to over 600 catties. The brigade's total grain output, which was 440,000 catties in 1973, rose to 640,000 catties in 1974 and then sharply to 880,000 catties in 1975, doubling the output of

two years before. The brigade has turned from a backward brigade into an advanced model of the commune.

The new system integrating teaching, scientific research and production adopted by Chaoyang Agricultural College also took another form, that is, in various specialities groups each dealing one specific subject were set up to integrate teaching, scientific research and production. For instance, when students of the agricultural department entered the college, they were organized separately into eight topical groups dealing with kaoliang, corn, cotton, etc. In these groups, teachers and students jointly undertook scientific research tasks, with guidance provided by the former. Research topics were chosen in accordance with production needs, and contents of specialized teaching were determined in accordance with the demands of production and scientific research topics. In these groups activities were launched whereby "officers teach men, men teach officers, and men teach men." Those who could teach taught and everyone learned from each other. These groups followed the policy of part-work, part-study, working diligently and studying thriftily. Learning from Tachai was taken as a fundamental subject. While students practiced part-work, part-study, teachers practiced part-work, part-teaching. Productive labor was taken as the foundation of overall school life. The goal was not only to train useful people but also to make achievements in scientific research and carry out material production. This made it possible to enforce the Party's policy that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." The formation of these groups smashed the old system of "three centers" (with teachers, books and classrooms as centers) and "three old stages" (fundamental theories, specialized fundamental theories, and advanced specialized subjects), and made for close integration of theory and practice, "work" and "study." This helped teachers transform their world outlook and students increase their ability to analyze and solve problems, besides facilitating the popularization and elevation of science and technology. Under the old teaching system "specialists use their mouths, workers use their hands, the masses are fools, and fame and profit belong to me." Now, everyone makes suggestion and goes into action; the efforts of all are pooled together to seek common progress. In the past teachers never bothered themselves about production -- "I teach my books, you grow your own crops." Now, everyone is concerned about teaching as well as scientific research and production. For instance, in the course of receiving re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants, the teachers and students found that the masses urgently required a kind of kaoliang hybrid which was not only high in yield but also palatable. So, the Party committee decided to set up in the agricultural department a kaoliang group composed of worker-peasant-soldier students, teachers of poor and lower-middle peasant origin, and old intellectuals to conduct the research. Through joint efforts, they initially fostered a kind of new kaoliang variety which was high in quality and palatable -- "1095." Student Liu Kuang-i presided over the topic of peanut cultivation. In light of the dryness and the difficulty of sprouting in the Chaoyang area, and after discovering that protecting full seedlings was the crucial factor for high yield of peanuts, he combined the experience gained in the Chaoyang area in insuring full and strong cotton seedlings by four-plow sowing and the

experience gained by Comrade Yao Shih-ch'ang of Shantung in thinning the plants and stopping or reducing the irrigation of seedlings, and effectively controlled the virus. As a result, he created a high-yield record of per-unit-area output of peanut amounting to more than 610 catties in the Chaoyang area.

The new system in which teaching, scientific research and production are integrated as adopted by Chaoyang Agricultural College has not only fostered backbone forces for the rural communes and brigades in learning from Tachai in agriculture but also led to solid achievements made in the field of scientific research. Over the past few years, 20 scientific research achievements were already applied to production. The Chaoyang area has a lot of mountainous land and little water and its weather is dry. The "Chaoku No. 4" which they produced from research ripens early, is high in yield and rather adaptable to the local climate. It is a very good aftercrop for multiple cropping. Now it has been widely popularized both inside and outside the province. They studied the cultivation techniques of turning one crop into two crops in the Chaoyang area and conducted high yield experiments by the methods of interplanting wheat with corn and cultivating kaoliang and double-crop millet after the wheat crop was harvested. For three years in a row the average per-unit-area output exceeded 1,600 catties. In respect to prevention and control of cotton bollworms, they opened up a new path to biological prevention and control with polyembryonic small wasps. As there is yet no data in the country about cotton bollworms and polyembryonic small wasps, this discovery not only provided a new topic for research of parasitic wasps, but also supplied a new clue for biological prevention and control. These research results enriched and developed agricultural science and were quickly spread through the students' "several ups and several downs," having the effect of promoting the development of agricultural production.

There is no victory which is not won through battle. Every step forward taken by Chaoyang Agricultural College on the road of educational revolution has been achieved in repeated struggles against the bourgeoisie and the force of old habit. Toward the end of 1972, the college, preparing to undertake a provincial task, needed to transfer personnel from the various basic points. Those who had not solved their ideological problems thought that the school was carrying out a reorganization and questioned the leadership: "Which way is right -- go down or go up?" And they pressed the Party committee to make a self-examination.

The joint 1973 New Year Editorial of Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chün Pao relayed the message of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and exposed and criticized the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's line. The masses of teachers and students, through their study, criticized the erroneous views which negated the educational revolution in the name of opposing "ultra-Left" and made their direction clearer. However, a small number of people still persisted in their wrong position. When students were formally recruited for the water conservation speciality in the second half of 1973, these people became more active. They said: The water conservation speciality should be oriented to the entire province, so we should train "personnel at county and higher levels" and should not practice the "from and back to commune" system.

They argued that it was necessary to step up teaching in fundamental theories and the part-work, part-study system and "several ups and several downs" should be discontinued. There was even less need, they said, to adopt the new three-way system of promoting teaching with scientific research and production because it served no practical purposes. They publicly pointed out: the water conservation speciality is "special" and the road taken by the agricultural, forestry and animal husbandry departments should not be taken by it. In addition, people who spread these views euphemized that this was a policy of "walking on two legs": one leg was "from and back to the commune"; the other was "from the commune and to the state." This "two legs" theory was also endorsed by some people in the three departments of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry. Owing to the obstruction by these people, the educational plan for the water conservation speciality failed to be finalized even when the school was soon to be opened, although it had been revised repeatedly. After the school opened, they again put these problems to the students and pushed to the foreground those youngsters who did not understand the background of this struggle. When a number of students pasted up big-character posters, these people said to them gleefully: "You have written what we dared not say." This made the struggle even more acute and complicated.

Faced with this struggle, the Party committee clearly perceived that this was a question of whether or not it was necessary to stick to the educational revolution and, in the final analysis, a question of whether to advance or go backward, and that going backward was out of the question in all circumstances. Tit for tat, they proposed "four persistences": persistence in coming from and going back to communes; persistence in several ups and several downs; persistence in part-work and part-study, diligent work and thrifty study; and persistence in the three-way integration of teaching, scientific research and production. Not long afterward, the Provincial Party Committee convened a propaganda work conference. The conference, after analyzing the situation and characteristics of class struggle in the educational circles, pointed out that the main danger on the educational front was revisionism and the principal task was still to solve the problems posed by the domination of schools by bourgeois intellectuals. It called for turning schools into instruments for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This greatly inspired and encouraged the revolutionary teachers and students of Chaoyang Agricultural College. In accordance with the spirit of the propaganda work conference held by the Provincial Party Committee, the college Party committee held a study class for Party members and cadres lasting more than two months. In the study class the various sorts of absurd arguments which attempted to make people go backward were exposed and criticized, the right and wrong in the matter of line were distinguished, and thinking was unified. After that, the masses were penetratingly mobilized to mount an offensive against the reactionary trends of thought seeking to restore capitalism. A vehement struggle to repulse the backlash of the revisionist educational line was unfolded throughout the college.

Violent waves arose below the Eagle's Mouth Mountain and the blacklash was criticized with full fury. In this serious struggle to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the worker-peasant-soldier students, charged with the glorious task of "going to, managing and transforming the university," displayed the role as the main force. With strong proletarian sentiments, they wrote revolutionary big-character posters bearing such titles as "Chaoyang Agricultural College is a college going against the tide." With their own personal experience and the solid achievements made by the school in various fields, they forcefully refuted the fallacies of backlash and, hitting the nail on the head, pointed out: "Why should we not take the road of the three departments of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry? Do they not simply want to go back to the old road of the 17 years?" "What do they mean by the one leg of 'from and back to the commune' and the other leg of 'from the commune and to the state'? Do they not simply want to give the bourgeoisie a leg?"

Just as the battle between the two classes and two lines within Chaoyang Agricultural College was raging, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, unfolded with great fanfare. This was a great revolution on the political and ideological front in our country at the time. Bravely the teachers and students arose to criticize Lin Piao's crimes of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" in a forlorn attempt to restore capitalism, and to criticize all ideas of the exploiting classes. The Party committee appealed to everyone to link their criticism with the reality of the school, with the revisionist educational line of 17 years, and with the Right deviationist backlash aimed at negating the great cultural revolution and the educational revolution. Under the Party committee's unified leadership, more than 200 teachers and students rushed to the countryside. There, while joining the poor and lower-middle peasants in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, they conducted investigations into the educational revolution. When the poor and lower-middle peasants heard that some were trying to negate the educational revolution and the orientation of Chaoyang Agricultural College, they said angrily: "Who says that such a school is not good? Let him come and have a debate with us!" Such deep class feelings of the poor and lower-middle peasants deeply educated us.

Through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and re-education by poor and lower-middle peasants, both teachers and students completely renewed their spiritual outlook. From the students emerged a large group of advanced personalities determined to break with old traditional ideas and to become new-type peasants. Chia Hui-chen, a student of the water conservation speciality, was a worker from a water conservation site. When she first arrived at the school, she did not understand the meaning of "from and back to the commune," and once she wanted to withdraw from the school. After she joined in criticizing the decadent ideas of Confucius and Mencius such as "one who excels in learning becomes an official" and "go to school in order to become an official," she raised her ideological awareness to a great extent and on her own initiative asked to go to the countryside after graduation and become a new-type peasant who gave up wages and worked for work points. This revolutionary

action on her part aroused strong response from the entire school. Many students vowed to dedicate themselves to agriculture. Those students of the water conservation speciality who were allocated to the school through the unified provincial recruitment plan, also pledged to return to the countryside as well. With concrete action they strongly refuted the fallacy that the water conservation speciality could not adopt the "from and back to the commune" system.

Profound changes also took place within the teachers ranks. From among the worker-peasant-soldier graduates a group of new-type peasant teachers working for work points was selected. With deep proletarian feelings they mounted the university rostrum. Considerable improvement was also shown by those teachers who at first did not understand the purpose of the educational revolution and had too many worries. Ch'en T'ien-feng, a woman teacher, formerly was of the view that "several ups and several downs" and "part-work, part-study" had an adverse effect on the quality of education. Once, in the class she taught in a May 7 university she put more emphasis on fundamental theories in an effort to outdo Chaoyang Agricultural University and its students. The result was that some students of that class did not want to go back to the countryside after graduation. Later, a study session was held for them under the sponsorship of the county Party committee and the Party committee of the county May 7 university. The purpose of "from and back to the commune" was once again explained to them. It was only then that all of them returned to the countryside happily. This event jolted her tremendously. And after she went to the countryside and joined in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, she saw with her own eyes that students who she thought had a low level were highly appraised by the poor and lower-middle peasants and had done a lot of work in the countryside. All this educated her still more deeply. She said with a sigh: "If one doesn't thoroughly transform one's bourgeois world outlook, one not only will not be able to meet the demands of the educational revolution but also will become a victim of capitalist restoration." Since then, she took an active part in the practice of educational revolution and became a backbone element in teaching. Together with the other dozen women teachers she studied Lenin's "A Great Beginning." They voluntarily formed a "March 8 Pioneering Group," and made use of their spare time and holidays to collect manure and cultivate an experimental plot, rising early and going to sleep late. This high level of consciousness and communist attitude toward labor exerted a considerable influence on teachers and students alike.

After criticizing the Right deviationist backlash and particularly after the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the revolutionary teachers and students of Chaoyang Agricultural College firmly defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and consolidated and developed the achievements of the educational revolution.

In December 1974, the Jen-min Jih-pao carried an investigation report entitled "It Is Fine for Agricultural University Graduates To Become Peasants," which affirmed the orientation of Chaoyang Agricultural

College. Subsequently an on-the-spot meeting on educational revolution was convened here by the Science and Education Group of the State Council, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee for the purpose of systematically summing up the experience of Chaoyang Agricultural College in acting according to Chairman Mao's educational line over the past five years. The meeting affirmed that the experience of the College was the experience of suiting education to the socialist economic base and turning schools into instruments for the dictatorship of the proletariat, experience of narrowing the three major differences and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of the meeting, instructions concerning the future development of Chaoyang Agricultural College and all-out spiritual and material support were given by the responsible comrades of the Science and Education Group, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee. The on-the-spot meeting on educational revolution signified the entry of the educational revolution at Chaoyang Agricultural College into a new phase.

Repulse the Right Deviationist Wind To Reverse Verdicts

The publication of the investigation report "It Is Fine for Agricultural University Graduates To Become Peasants" and the holding of the "On-the-Spot Meeting To Study Chaoyang Agricultural College's Experience in Educational Revolution" fully confirmed the orientation of Chaoyang Agricultural College. This young shoot of educational revolution was accorded great care by the Party Central Committee. The central leading comrades personally directed that the Tientsin Municipal Party Committee organize visits to the school and that 50 worker-peasant-soldier students be selected from other areas and allocated to the school.

Concern of the central leaders and encouragement by the masses in a very large measure inspired the leadership, teachers and students of Chaoyang Agricultural College, and gave them inexhaustible strength. After the national on-the-spot meeting, in accordance with the directives of the Provincial Party Committee, they pressed ahead with victory in training fighters who dared to oppose capitalism and build socialism in a big way. After studying Chairman Mao's directive concerning the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the Party committee of Chaoyang Agricultural College recognized more clearly than ever before that the college should be run primarily as a university of proletarian politics and, secondarily, as an agricultural university. "From and back to commune" meant serving the building of socialism and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it absolutely did not mean that one should go back and work on one's private plot for high output. Therefore, "several ups and several downs" should be of a clearcut class character, and when students go down, they should first of all grasp class struggle and the line struggle and must not become purely technicians. Through study, the college gained a greater degree of ideological unity, and raised "from and back to commune" to the plane of restricting bourgeois rights, narrowing the three major differences

and exercising overall dictatorship on the bourgeoisie. With a clearer vision, they were able to march in firmer steps.

On the basis of studying theory in depth, the Party committee again organized the third-year students of the college to go to the countryside to participate in the struggle to criticize capitalism and build socialism in a big way, taking class struggle as the main subject in the countryside. From the living class struggle, both the teachers and students came to feel deeply that technology alone could not save China and that "only socialism can save China." As a student of the department of agriculture commented, "In becoming peasants, university graduates do not mean to become peasants who are private property owners but new peasants with socialist consciousness and culture."

The broad masses of people were indeed happy to see Chaoyang Agricultural College progressing and applauded the growth of new things. Warm letters poured into the college from workers, peasants and soldiers in various parts of the country, and the number of units which requested to send students to Chaoyang Agricultural College for training also increased. There were, however, some people who, proceeding from the reactionary stand, hated Chaoyang Agricultural College to the marrow of their bones. In the two months of March and April, the college Party committee received a number of articles and anonymous letters attacking the college. But this did not in the slightest shake the determination of the teachers and students of the college to carry the educational revolution through to the end. The enemy's frantic opposition showed that Chaoyang Agricultural College was on the right track. It was precisely because the old system was hurt where it hurt most that those champions of the old system cursed the college wildly.

Several vituperative letters served as nothing but a signal, heralding the advent of a still bigger storm. Expectedly, beginning with the summer and fall of 1975, a gust of Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts first swept the educational circles. Some units withdrew from the college personnel they had sent to the college to help sum up the experience. There were all sorts of absurd arguments such as: in the last several years "the orientation of the educational revolution has not been properly settled"; "it is wrong to suggest that we should work against the revisionist educational line of 17 years"; "it is 'ultra-Left' for university graduates to become peasants"; "the results.....will eventually lead to fixing output quotas based on the household"; "is it right to build Tachai-type counties to the level of Chaoyang Agricultural College in five years?" And so on and so forth. When this gust of wind swept the school, it created confusion among some people here.

In these circumstances, the Party committee of Chaoyang Agricultural College realized that this was a struggle over major issues of right and wrong, a manifestation of the struggle between the two classes and two roads when the educational revolution further deepened. In order to unify the views of cadres and Party members and in preparing to lead the teachers and students of the whole college to welcome a new battle, on August 13 they began to hold a study class for Party members and cadres at the college and department levels

to review a series of instructions given by the teachers of revolution concerning revolution in education, and to hold discussions around the following questions. First, the question of turning the school into a university of proletarian politics. They criticized the spurious theory that "an agricultural college is not a Party school or cadre school" but "a center for imparting agricultural knowledge," and refuted the viewpoint that "more political subjects than vocational ones are taught." Second, the question of persisting in "part-work and part-study, diligent work and thrifty study" and of establishing and improving the new system integrating teaching, scientific research and production. They got rid of the muddle notion that "more labor is done, and fewer classes are held." Finally, the question of setting up an area-wide scientific teaching network. They criticized the erroneous view which regarded the scientific teaching network as an extra burden or as "the hand is stretched out too far." The study class enabled everyone to see the need to act on Chairman Mao's instructions and that, no matter when and where opposition came from, we must not waver and must stand firm. The final conclusion of the study class was this: The orientation and road of Chaoyang Agricultural College are correct, and there is nothing wrong in working against the revisionist educational line of 17 years.

The publication of Chairman Mao's important instruction on discussion and criticism of Water Margin further heightened the initiative of the teachers and students of the entire college to criticize revisionism, the bourgeoisie and capitulationism. The principal responsible comrades of the Party committee, when studying Chairman Mao's important comments, led the way in summing up, in the light of reality, the grave lessons of certain cadres of the former Shenyang Agricultural College in practicing class capitulationism which caused bourgeois dictatorship over the proletariat. They called on all the cadres, Party members and revolutionaries to guard against the "offer of amnesty and enlistment," oppose capitulation and firmly grasp the leadership of the working class in the educational position.

In October, Chaoyang Agricultural College, resisting the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts stirred up by the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing, once more organized the principal responsible persons of the leading groups at the college and department levels to go on a study tour of Tachai, Tsinghua and Peking Universities and the Kiangsi Communist Labor University. At this time, they further recognized that those who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts did not merely hate Chaoyang Agricultural College but frenziedly tried to negate the entire educational revolution and the great proletarian cultural revolution. This was a life-and-death battle between two classes, and one had to make adequate ideological preparations and have full confidence in winning this battle.

Just as absurd arguments were going the round in educational circles and the teachers and students of Chaoyang Agricultural College and on the educational front were carrying out a struggle to deal head-on blows to them, our great leader Chairman Mao took the opportunity to start a mass debate on the educational revolution. As Chairman Mao's directive on unfolding the mass debate was transmitted to Chaoyang Agricultural College, cheers "Long live Chairman Mao!" and other slogans reverberated throughout the campus and echoed in the valleys nearby. Their eyes flooded with tears, the teachers and

students pledged to Chairman Mao, their venerable old man: Chairman Mao supports us and we must win glory for him.

Under Chairman Mao's militant call, mass debates on the educational revolution were initiated across the land. In Tsinghua and Peking Universities, revolutionary comrades-in-arms fought at the front line while the teachers and students of Chaoyang Agricultural College kept closely to Chairman Mao's strategic dispositions. The Party committees of Tsinghua and Peking Universities sent their representatives to Chaoyang Agricultural College in early December to relay to it their experience in following Chairman Mao's strategic dispositions and in carrying out the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. At the same time, they assisted the college in summing up the practice of educational revolution over the past few years and writing the article entitled "Study the Experience of Revolution, Penetratingly Criticize Revisionism." This provided considerable support and encouragement to the vast masses of teachers and students of the college. On December 14, the college Party committee held a mobilization rally, in which both teachers and students, filled with righteous proletarian indignation, pledged to join the battle. In a short span of ten days, they put up more than 3,000 big-character posters and held more than 700 large and small criticism meetings. On January 25, 1976, the graduation ceremony for the third group of worker-peasant-soldier students was victoriously held, and the revolutionary mass criticism was pushed to a new height. The 176 graduates, charged with emotions, read out a letter they wrote to the great leader Chairman Mao, pledging to fight: "With Marxism-Leninism as our guide, we have set ourselves a lofty goal. We are fully committed to learning from Tachai in agriculture and to transforming the features of the mountains and rivers. We have taken the first step in returning to the communes where we came from, and the road ahead mounts skyward. Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the height." Immediately after the meeting they rushed to the first line of the countryside, and some firmly demanded to go to the border regions. With the concrete action of "vowing to become a generation of new peasants," they powerfully rebuffed the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts!

The Party committee of Chaoyang Agricultural College, having studied afresh Chairman Mao's thesis concerning the educational revolution and other writings and on the basis of mass criticism, first wrote the article "It Is Necessary To Make Major Issues of Right and Wrong Clear Through Debate," which was carried in the No. 1, 1976 issue of the Hung-ch'i magazine. This article categorically refuted some absurdities in educational circles which attacked the experience of Chaoyang Agricultural College in its operation, and analyzed the class essence of these viewpoints. It pointed out that the appearance of these absurdities was a reflection of the current struggle between the two classes and two lines. The concocters of these absurdities were merely like women in mourning, crying over the revisionist educational line which prevailed for 17 years before the great proletarian cultural revolution. Then, the Party committee wrote another article entitled "Build a New World in the Course of Criticizing the Old World," which was carried in Jen-min Jih-pao on February 14, 1976. On the basis of six years of practice in educational revolution, the article summed up ten experiences in working

against the revisionist educational line of 17 years, and profoundly criticized the strange notion that "it is wrong to suggest that we should work against the revisionist educational line of 17 years." The article emphasized that our experience might be summed up in one point, that is, we must firmly enforce Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, act on Chairman Mao's instructions, resolutely work against the revisionist educational line of 17 years, and strive to turn the school into an instrument for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It concluded: The slogan "work against the revisionist educational line of 17 years" expresses the determination of the teachers and students of Chaoyang Agricultural College to fight to the last the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing's criminal design to change the Party's basic line and restore capitalism,and to build a new educational system. These two articles firmly and forcefully rebuffed from the theoretical aspect the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

Meantime, beginning with February 6, the Party committee of Chaoyang Agricultural College held a study class for cadres and teachers of the entire college. The aim of the study class was to train cadres and backbone elements for penetratingly developing movements. They first seriously studied Chairman Mao's writings and relevant articles in newspapers and journals and raised their understanding, and then headed for the rural communes and brigades to make an investigation of the performance of the college's graduates in the three great revolutionary movements. In late February, when the cadres and teachers returned to the school after conducting the investigation in the countryside, a report meeting, attended by teachers and students of the entire college, was held. As the meeting was proceeding, the Jen-min Jih-pao made public Chairman Mao's latest instruction: "What! 'Take the three directives as the key link?' Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." This important instruction, hitting the nail on the head, revealed that "taking the three directives as the key link" cooked up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing was an out-and-out revisionist program of rejecting class struggle as the key link. The aim of this program was to restore capitalism. After studying this instruction from Chairman Mao, the teachers and students of the college saw more clearly their direction of struggle. The report meeting was turned into a meeting to criticize the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." Those comrades who spoke related the advanced deeds of graduates in sticking to the Party's basic line, taking class struggle as the key link and pushing the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture forward. They spoke of the typical examples of how students dared to fight against revisionism, capitalism and the force of old habit. By doing so, they strongly denounced "taking the three directives as the key link" and the theory of the dying out of class struggle and theory of productive forces. Criticism and exposure at the meeting enabled them to further recognize that the ferocity of the attack against Chaoyang Agricultural College embodied in the revisionist absurdities in educational circles last year, was not an isolated, accidental phenomenon. The cause must be traced to the revisionist line which the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing pursued to counter Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. A series of measures such as "from and back to commune" adopted by Chaoyang Agricultural College

jeopardized bourgeois rights and the old traditional concepts and weakened the soil and conditions engendering capitalism, and that was why the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing hated so much such a new socialist thing as Chaoyang Agricultural College and wanted to strangle it. On the last day of the meeting, the college Party committee again called for mobilization and set a plan for penetratingly developing the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. At present, a mammoth mass movement to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line is unfolding in depth in Chaoyang Agricultural College. The revolutionary teachers and students are determined, under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, to carry this struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and the proletarian educational revolution through to the very end.

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Reverse the Reversal of History

by

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(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1976)

The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, has brought profound and revolutionary changes to the sphere of historical science. Guided and illuminated by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, hundreds of millions of the worker-peasant-soldier masses armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought have broken through the forbidden zone of historical science and mounted the rostrum of history. Along with revolutionary historical workers, they declared war on the old and reactionary history books. Taking class struggle as the key link and breaking down the system of emperors, kings, generals and ministers, they have exerted themselves to compile the history of the laboring people, reverse the reversal of history and restore history's true features, thus vigorously smashing the bourgeois hold on history.

Are slaves or "heroes" the makers of history? Should we write about the history of the toiling people as the main characters or the history of the emperors, kings, generals and ministers? This is the fundamental difference between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between Marxism and revisionism, in the sphere of history. As early as 1944 Chairman Mao pointed out: "The people are the makers of history. But on the old opera stage (all old literature and art divorced from the people), the people become the scum, with the stage dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered children." This is also true for the sphere of history. For thousands of years reactionary historians of the exploiting classes did everything possible to preach the idealist conception of history, erase class struggle and falsify the history of class struggle and turn it into biographical accounts of emperors, kings, generals and ministers. The situation in the sphere of history after liberation did not change basically. The history of 17 years after liberation and the experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius prove that the bourgeoisie will never of its own accord withdraw from the arena of history. They are bound to play new tricks in new counter-attacks against the proletariat and desperately resist the exercise of proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the sphere of history. Therefore, we must unremittingly grasp class struggle as the key link, do a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation in the sphere of history and reverse the reversal of history. This will meet the needs of not only consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the realm of history, but also of continuing the revolution under this dictatorship and combating and preventing revisionism, as well as of consolidating and developing the victorious fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

How can we reverse the reversal of history and write the history of the laboring people? Lenin pointed out: "Marxism provided the clue which

enables us to discover the laws governing this seeming labyrinth and chaos, namely, the theory of class struggle." ("Karl Marx") Chairman Mao has also taught us: "Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years." The mutually opposing and mutually struggling social classes in history were products of the relations of production and relations of exchange in society at that time, that is, products of the prevailing socio-economic base. It is precisely the hundreds of millions of the oppressed and exploited laboring people who, by unremittingly and bravely waging the struggle for production and class struggle, changed the old relations of production and spurred social development. Chairman Mao recently has again taught us: "Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges upon it." All strivings in history, whether political, ideological and religious, were manifestations of class struggle in greater or lesser degrees. In the course of participating in the compilation over the past year and more of A Brief Introduction to the History of China, edited by Comrade Sun Shou-fang, a fighter of our unit, we have come to realize that the most fundamental thing is to grasp class struggle as the key link. Only by doing so can we observe and analyze problems and correctly interpret history with the Marxist viewpoint, stand and method; only then is it possible to adhere to historical materialism and combat historical idealism.

The laboring people are the makers of history. But the old history books completely left the toiling people out of historical accounts. To alter this state of affairs, it is necessary, first of all, to break down the system of emperors, kings, generals and ministers. Reactionary historians over the past thousands of years did their utmost to obliterate class struggle and vilify peasant insurgents as "brigands." The 24 Books of History became the biographical accounts of emperors, kings, generals and ministers. They also used factional strivings within the ruling classes to distort and erase peasants' class struggles. In writing about each dynasty we always try to highlight the struggle between the two classes in the first place, heap full praises on the working people, and bring home the viewpoint that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." The whole book is devoted largely to the practice of class struggle and struggle for production carried out by the laboring people. Whole sections are reserved for describing and eulogizing famous peasant uprisings. On the basis of historical facts, peasant uprisings are credited with not only having overthrown the old dynasties but also having brought about economic prosperity and political development following the establishment of a new dynasty. Strong emphasis is laid on the role of peasant uprisings in striking heavy blows at the landlord class, in curbing the decadent feudal forces that hampered the development of productive forces, in promoting the development of social production and in spurring the advance and prosperity of various aspects of social life. In this way, the so-called "policy of concessions" is taken to task while over-estimating certain Legalist representatives may be avoided. In writing about the history of the laboring people, about peasant uprisings in particular, attention must also be given to making an analysis of the line and to making a distinction between the correct and erroneous lines, apart from extolling the revolutionaries and criticizing capitulationists. The working people are not

only the main force in class struggle but also the creators of science, technology and culture. From the invention of the written language to the appearance of iron tools, from the introduction of letter press printing to the application of gun-powder, none of these was not attributed to the wisdom of the laboring people. However, the old history books ascribed these accomplishments to the genius of certain individuals, without mentioning one word about the toiling people and about the primacy of practice. In the course of compilation, we do our best to remove these distortions and restore the true conditions, crediting the laboring people with having mainly contributed to every major engineering feat, scientific invention and cultural achievement recorded in history. Apart from giving prominence to the toiling people's practice, we also ardently praise the scientists, technicians and men of letters of working people origin.

Among the laboring people, women constitute a mighty force, but for several thousand years they were discriminated against and insulted by the reactionary ruling classes in every possible way. They were in particular brutally persecuted by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and consequently reduced to wretched conditions. To alter their political and economic status, vast numbers of working women carried out unflinching struggles against the reactionary ruling classes and pushed society forward. Affirming the great role of women is an important aspect of reversing the reversal of history. To this end, we make every effort to scan through history and put together the outstanding deeds of working women, devoting prominent space to describing them and highly evaluating their revolutionary spirit. The whole book portrays more than 20 women insurgent leaders, scientists, technicians, writers and politicians, with more emphasis on a few such as Huang Tao-k'o, Lü Mu, Wang Ts'ung-erh, Hung Hsüan-chiao, Feng Wan-chen and Ch'iu Ch'in.

"In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." China is a unified, multinational country. Since ancient times, the people of all nationalities in our country have united in a common effort to build, develop and defend our great motherland, and they have created the history of the motherland. However, out of class prejudice, the reactionary ruling classes in succeeding dynasties either preached Han chauvinism or equated the upper crust of the national minorities with the laboring people in an attempt to create barriers between the nationalities and undermine national solidarity. Hence, fully affirming the role of the toiling people of all nationalities in making the history of the motherland is also a factor that should not be overlooked in reversing the reversal of history. We strive to uphold the viewpoint that all nationalities in the country, big and small, are equal, the viewpoint of harmony among all nationalities, and the viewpoint that questions of nationalities are internal questions. This is to shift national struggle onto the track of class struggle and to confirm the roles of various nationalities in the country and affirm the outstanding figures among minority nationalities. Apart from devoting special sections to depicting the minority nationalities during various important periods, the book affirms also more than a dozen outstanding figures among the minority nationalities.

Practice in the past year has deeply convinced us that to reverse the reversal of history is a most glorious and difficult task. Although we

have obtained initial results, what we have accomplished is still far from meeting the demands of the Party and the people. Our understanding and observations are still rudimentary and in concrete practice quite a few problems still exist. However, we strongly believe our orientation is correct and as long as we conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought we shall assuredly be able to accomplish the glorious task of reversing the reversal of history. Practice over the past year has also made us aware of the fact that for workers, peasants and soldiers to study history is also a very good way for them to master Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought by linking theory with practice. The more we study in this manner, the more we find the greatness of the laboring people, the more we cherish them and the more we despise a handful of reactionary ruling classes. The more we study, the more we appreciate the difficult but glorious task of the revolution in history, which inspires us to criticize the bourgeoisie, revisionism and the old reactionary concept of history in the field of historical studies. The more we study, the more we find the heavy responsibility thrust on workers, peasants and soldiers, which encourages us to set the soaring ambition of "clasping the moon in the ninth heaven and seizing turtles deep down in the five seas" and strengthen our resolve to carry the revolution in history through to the end.

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Happy To Discuss the New Changes on the Historical Front

by

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(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1976)

I am a student of history. Like other subjects in the cultural and ideological spheres, history for several thousand years was dominated by the landlord and bourgeois classes. After liberation, due to the interference of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers were barred from taking this subject while the world outlook of intellectuals associated with professional departments was not transformed. With the old history holding sway, the school platforms and historical publications were filled with feudal, capitalist and revisionist stuff of every description. Following the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, historical workers and the vast revolutionary masses have unfolded revolutionary mass criticism in a deep-going way. They have gone to the rural areas and factories to receive re-education from the workers, peasants and soldiers and this has eliminated the pernicious influence on them and helped transform their world outlook. The rapid growth of the worker-peasant-soldier theoretical contingents has made them the main force on the history front. Compared with the period before the great cultural revolution, historical studies have taken on completely new features.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism." Previously, our professional history workers precisely stood in opposition to this viewpoint. In the classroom or writing articles at that time, they preached not the Marxist theory of class struggle but the revisionist theory of class reconciliation. Let us recall what happened in those days. In the circles of historians at the time, there were talks about the "policy of concessions," the idea that "the peasants are not against feudalism" and the theory of "honest officials." Were they not trying to blur the class distinctions, obliterate class struggle and preach the theory of class reconciliation? Of these fallacies the "policy of concessions" spread most widely and did the greatest harm. I myself was also involved in spreading this fallacy. Since between the peasants and the landlords, the two antagonistic classes, there is only irreconcilable struggle, the failure of peasant uprisings would only result in retaliatory counter-attacks by feudal states which upheld the interests of the landlords. How could there be any concession given by such states! In the past, however, this fallacy prevailed. Although some comrades were critical of this development, others defended it with eloquence.

Departing from the Marxist thesis of class struggle, one is apt to deny the role of the laboring people in history and preach the heroes' conception of history. The peasant wars were frequently vilified in the past, and it was denied that class struggle waged by the peasants provided the real motive force for spurring the development of China's feudal society. It was asserted that peasant insurgents wanted to become officials or even ascend the throne, and surrender and defection were attributed to the class limitations of the peasantry. On the other hand, socio-economic prosperity, brought about by the struggle for production and class struggle waged by the toiling people, was ascribed to the "enlightened monarchs and virtuous ministers" that were in favor of "making concessions." It was publicized that history was made by heroes.

Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revisionist essence of these fallacies was brought out and criticized. This has removed the confusion caused by the unchecked spread of the idealist conception of history. Today, the major task of the historian is to use Marxism to expound the role of the laboring people in history. Since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius began, innumerable articles about the history of the anti-Confucian struggles of the laboring people, written largely by the workers, peasants and soldiers, have been published in newspapers and journals, to carry forward the revolutionary tradition of the laboring people of succeeding generations serving as the main force in criticism of Confucius. Many worker-peasant-soldier units have been engaged in compiling different types of history. The departments of history of many universities recruited worker teachers, while many history departments and historical research institutions have compiled histories with the assistance of workers, peasants and soldiers that take class struggle as the key link and the toiling people as the mainstay. Despite their role in the making of history, the laboring people were previously deprived of the right to write about their own history. The victory of the great cultural revolution has made it possible for workers, peasants and soldiers to mount the stage of the superstructure from which they were rejected in the past. This has provided reliable guarantees for carrying out a thoroughgoing revolution in the science of history, for consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure.

Revering Confucianism and opposing the Legalist school was an old tradition of feudal historians. Both the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and revisionism serve restoration purposes. Prior to the great cultural revolution, bourgeois and revisionist historians propagated the theory of class reconciliation and the conception that heroes made history in close connection with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. They were bound to inherit the old tradition. In innumerable historical works published before the great cultural revolution, Confucius was honored as "the paragon of teachers throughout the ages," wearing the laurels symbolizing "revolutionary" and "progressive." On the other hand, the Legalists who represented the interests of the newly emerging landlord class and opposed the restoration of slave owners and the Confucians, were either reviled or misinterpreted. During the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the vast revolutionary

masses rose in criticism of the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in usurping power and seeking restoration and in prostrating themselves before the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, the classics on restoration. After Confucius was removed from his pedestal and his devotees, Tung Chung-shu and Chu Hsi, were unmasked, their hypocritical and ferocious features as both the priest and the hangman were revealed. Previously, some politicians and thinkers of the landlord and bourgeois classes in varying degrees did criticize the Confucians, but due to their class limitations their criticisms were far from thorough. Only under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat today is it possible to sweep away the garbage left over from the slave and feudal societies through mighty mass movements.

While criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, historians along with workers, peasants and soldiers have used Marxism to evaluate the Legalists, affirming their reformist, progressive and unifying aspects and pointing out their class and historical limitations and their having the nature of landlord class exploitation. Through study of the Confucian-Legalist struggle, Legalist statesmen such as Ch'in Shih Huang, Ts'ao Ts'ao and Wang An-shih and Legalist thinkers like Shao Cheng Mao, Han Fei and Li Chih, were appropriately affirmed. This initially reversed the evil tendency of old historians to assess historical figures according to the reactionary Confucian criteria.

Ideology and culture embody a strong class character, serving the politics of either this or that class. This was accepted by me, rooted deep in old history, in words but not in deeds. I was imbued with bourgeois fallacies such as "learning for learning's sake," in the belief that learning could be divorced from politics. When I was lecturing or writing an article, I never gave any consideration to actual struggle. After taking part in revolutionary mass criticism, I realized that I should never divorce myself from the line struggle and that if one departed from proletarian politics one would go over to bourgeois politics. Since the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the tendencies of divorcing from politics and stressing the past and belittling the present have changed significantly. Innumerable articles on history have given attention to "making the past serve the present" and using Marxism to sum up historical experience as a guide to the proletariat in waging actual struggles. Studying the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle is for the purpose of summing up the experience of the power struggle between the newly emerging landlord class and the declining slave-owner class, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, and summing up the experience of struggle between the two lines in history, one for reform and progress and the other for conservatism and regression. Making comments on Water Margin and criticizing Sung Chiang the capitulationist is to sum up the experience in the struggle between the two lines, one for surrender and the other against surrender, within the peasant insurgent camp. Summing up these experiences is designed to heighten our awareness of class and line struggle, combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The principle of "making the past serve the present" is also reflected in articles about the history and geography of the northeast and northwest frontier regions. Citing a large amount of historical facts, these articles reveal the crimes of the old tsars in encroaching upon Chinese territories and refute the despicable lies of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in falsifying history and confusing black with white. Some of these articles lay more emphasis on verifications, such as verification of Suiyeh town of T'ang Dynasty and the Ming monument of the Nurkan Command. Prior to the great cultural revolution, verifications were rooted in personal interests. Those who conducted verification for verification's sake engrossed themselves in scholasticism. Following the great cultural revolution, verification itself underwent radical changes.

The changes that have occurred and the results obtained in the sphere of history in the past few years are immense. They symbolize the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the triumph of historical materialism over historical idealism. We must closely adhere to our great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, keep to the correct orientation, and consolidate and develop the victorious fruits gained. In socialist society, class and line struggles will not cease, while the struggle between the two lines in the sphere of history will continue. Using Marxism to firmly occupy the position of history and thoroughly uprooting the pernicious feudal, capitalist and revisionist influences of old history books still involves a formidable fighting course. This calls upon us, particularly an intellectual from the old society like myself, to seriously study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, accept re-education by the workers, peasants and soldiers, and further transform our world outlook so as to make contribution, however negligible, to the revolution in historical studies.

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